JINNAH-LINLITHGOW CORRESPONDENCE

(1939—1943)

Edited by

DR. WAHEED AHMAD

Research Society of Pakistan

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Research Society of Pakistan
University of the Punjab,
Lahore

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Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah
(1940)



Lord Linlithgow
(1940)

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FOREWORD

The Research Society of Pakistan from its very inception has been keenly interested in the publication of material relating to the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his co-workers in the Muslim League. It has already published Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam, Speeches and Statements of Miss Fatima Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali and Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence.

The present volume contains Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Lord Linlithgow who remained the Viceroy of undivided India from 1936 to 1943, a period of considerable importance in the history of the Indian Sub-Continent. The *Government of India Act, 1935*, had provided representative and responsible Governments in the Provinces and a Federation of All-India at the Centre. As a result of the Act, the Indian National Congress was able to form ministries in 1937 in most of the Provinces. In September, 1939, the Second World War broke out and in consequence of being unable to get a satisfactory response to the declaration of the British war aims from the Viceroy, the Congress Provincial Ministries submitted their resignations. During these two unhappy years the Muslim minorities suffered numerous humiliations and injustices at the hands of the majority community in many Provinces and expressed their disillusionment by observing 'the Day of Deliverance' on 22nd December, 1939, in the whole of India.

Thus the unity among the Muslim ranks enabled the Quaid-i-Azam to display his unmeasurable superiority in persuading the Muslim League Leaders to pass in March 1940 the famous Lahore Resolution and later, to secure from the Indian Government a recognition of the fact that the Muslim League was the sole spokesman of the Muslims of India.

This was a most important development in the history of the Sub-Continent. The Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence therefore, throws considerable fresh light on this espoch-making period of history.

DR. M. JAHANGIR KHAN

Director, Research Society of Pakistan

December 22, 1977.

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INTRODUCTION

The documents which follow are the correspondence relating to the years 1939-43 between Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah[1] on the one hand and Viceroy Lord Linlithgow[2] and Linlithgow's Private Secretary Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite[3]

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1. B. 1876; ed. Karachi and Lincoln's Inn; called to the bar, 1896; a leading barrister of the Bombay High Court; President, Muslim League, 1916, 1920, 1924-30 and from 1934 to his death; Quaid-i-Azam (great leader) of the Pakistan movement, 1940-7; Governor-General of Pakistan from 14 August 1947 to his death on 11 September 1948.
2. Victor Alexander John Hope, Second Marquis of Linlithgow, b. 1887; Chairman, Royal Commission of Agriculture in India, 1926-28; Chairman, Independent Peers, 1933; Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-4; Viceroy of India, 1936-43; d. 1952.
3. B. 1894; served in the war in France, 1917-18; appointed to India Office, 1919; Principal, 1924; specially attached to the Prime Mintster (Ramsny MacDonald) for 2nd Indian Round Table Conference, September-December 1931; Secretary, Indian Franchise (Lothian) Committee, January-June 1932; Secretary, Indian Delimitation Committee, August 1935-February 1936; Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India (Lord Linlithgow), 1936-43 and a Secretary to the Governor-General, 1937-43; Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India, 1943; An Under-Secretary (Civil) of the War Cabinet, 1944-5; Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Burma, 1945-7, for India, 1947, for Commonwealth Relations,

on the other.[1] In retrospect, almost every year in India's modern history, especially since the beginning of the first world war, could be seen as a milestone in India's march towards freedom and Partition. But the period with which this correspondence deals witnessed extraordinary developments and swift movement of events in the direction of what finally occurred in 1947. World War II broke out in September 1939. This put a stop to the efforts to actualise policies and programmes which had consumed considerable labour and time of the Indian and British politicians and administrators. On the other hand, it also opened up fresh opportunities for political gains for the Indian leaders and political parties.

The Government of India Act, 1935, provided for two distinct systems for India's political progress—a representative and responsible rule in the *Provinces* and a *federation* of all-India at the Centre.[2] The first was tried for a little

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1948-9; Ambassador (United Kingdom Representative, 1949-50) to the Republic of Ireland, 1950-1; High Commissioner for the U. K. in Pakistan, 1951-4; Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-9; Director of Inchcape Overseas Limited since 1969.

1. Three other letters exchanged with other persons aud found in other sources are also included at the end because of thein relevance to the subject. See under Miscellaneous Part III.

2. For a detailed discussion about it, see my book *Road to Indian Freedom: The Formatiou of the Government of India A t, 1935* to be published shortly.

over two years during 1937-39 and the experience gave to the leaders in India and in particular to the Muslim minority in an unpleasant manner, an indication of what would follow after the authority would have been transferred to the Indian people under a parliamentary system based on one man one vote and a majority rule. The second was never tried—the efforts were practically abandoned as the war commenced although in attempting to realise the federal programme all concerned became aware of the nature of the difficulties which would arise if the federation were to be launched.

The two years, experiment of Congress self-government was acknowledgedly successful.[1] Congress leaders had demonstrated their ability to govern and the fears that they and the official Governors would clash proved unjustified. *This success together with the need for Indian co-operation* in war efforts had placed the Congress in an adavntageous position vis-a-vis the British. Its demand for an Indian constituent assembly which had been ridiculed fifteen years earlier[2] could not be ignored.[3] The actual time-table of

1. See Sir Harry Haing (Governor, United Provinces, 1934-9), 'The United Province and the New Constitution', *Asiatic Review* July 1940.
2. See the speech of Lord Birkenhead (Secretary of State for India, 1924-8) in the House of Lords on 7 July 1925 in reply to the demand of the Indian *Swarajists* for a 'representative Round Table Conference' to prepare a constitutional scheme for India, 61 H. L. Deb. 5s., cols. 1085-6.
3. *Statesman* (which generally represented British official view), Calcutta, 8 August 1940, commended to the Indians editorially

Indian freedom could not be predicted, but it was apparent that the days of British rule were numbered. These developments, no doubt healthy for India's advancement, were producing an adverse effect on the communal question. Up till about 1936-7, efforts had been made with some consensus among Indians to resolve the difficulty within an Indian framework. Until then, Hindu-Muslim conciliation was at least Jinnah's ideal.[1] But during 1936-9, the

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Prime Minister Churchill's offer to Indians to join the Viceroys Council :

'There is (in Churchill's offer) what constitutional theorists and eager nationalist politicians will regard as the most important point of all, there is (in the offer) not only willing acceptance of the idea of a constituent assembly to produce the future constitution but there is the acceptance in the purest form. The day of nominated or invited Round Table Conference is past. Indians are asked and encouraged to arrange it themselves with no interference but with the offer or sympathy and help, and with the full assurance that complete self-government and not merely a further stage of advance is the accepted basis. If really representative men now join Viceroy,s Government and the War Council and collaborate they will clearly be able to give great help in the conceiving of such a constituent assembly.'

1. See the following extract from his public lecture to a mixed audience in Lahore in March 1936 where he had gone to bring about a communal agreement over the Shahidganj mosque dispute :

'Whatever I have done, let me assure you there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the Indian National Congress. It may be I have been wrong

Muslims as a community seriously felt that they had suffered Hindu tyranny. Consensus of opinion is that this was turning point. Jinnah had already devoted enough time—about a quarter of a century—to the search for a communal solution. Further efforts would not only be wasteful but damaging to Muslim interests especially when freedom was at hand. Clearly the moment for final decision had come. The general body of Muslims would not accept again any programme of partnership with Hindus and, with Jinnah having been convinced of the wisdom of this course, there was left among the Indian Muslims no significant champion of common Indian nationhood. It seems that the first consolidated Muslim action which embodied this turning point was the observance of the Day of Deliverance on 22 December 1939 at the resignation of the Congress provincial ministries in consequence of the Viceroy's inability to satisfy the Congress over the British war aims. Thenceforth, the march of events was very rapid, and barely three months after that the resolution to partition India on communal lines was adopted at the Lahore Muslim League Session.

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on some occasions. But it has never been done in a partisan spirit. My sole and only object has been the welfare of my country. I assure you that India's interest is and will be sacred to me and nothing will make me budge an inch fsom that position . . . . . I will not and I cannot give it (efforts to solve the communal problem) up. It may give me up, but I will not . . . . . . Without communal unity there was no salvation for India.' *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 3 March 1936.

But proclaiming a programme is one thing and realising it another. One would ask in retrospect whether the makers of the partition policy at that time were fully aware of its implications and were sure of its success in such a short time. Hindus and Muslims had lived together peacefully over many centuries under the various Muslim dynasties and had produced a common culture which included a lingua franca, manners of diet and dress and even shared festivals. Throughout the previous century, a period during which nationalism began to grow in India, they had, in spite of differences which at times were serious, met Britain and British imperialism with a united front. Look at the Mutiny of 1857, and in later years the demands for greater degree of responsible government and recruitment of Indians into the higher ranks of the Indian Civil Service, Khilafat agitation of 1920s, agitation over the *Simon Commission* of 1927 and the proceedings at the Round Table Conference in 1930-31 Consider also the role of the leaders like the Ali Brothers (Maulana Muhammad Ali[1] and Maulana Shaukat Ali[2]),

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1. B. 1878; Chief Education Officer, Baroda State, 1904-10; Editor, *Comrade*, 1911-14; a prominent Khilafat leader; President, Indian National Congress, 1923; delegate to the first session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; died in London in January 1931.

2. B. 1873; Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee; led the Khilafat movement along with his brothers; delegate to the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1931; d. 1937.

Hakim Ajmal Khan,[1] Dr. M. A. Ansari,[2] Mian Fazl-i-Husain[3], Jinnah himself and numerous other Muslims who had learnt their first political lesson under Congress tutorship.

Arguments to refute the above contentions exist in sufficient measure But these factors were enough to enable the Hindus to dub 'the two-nation theory' as 'an untruth'[4] and led an observer to suspect that the Muslim demand for partition was 'no more than a bargaining counter against Congress'.[5] However, looking back, it seems that the difficulties which the Muslims faced in 1947 as the outcome of the Partition were hardly foreseen by them at Lahore in March 1940.

I have not read the records of the Muslim League at Karachi University Library, the Quaid-i-Azam papers in the Ministry of Education at Islamabad and other documents scattered in many places in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

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1. Medical practitioner in Delhi: a prominent nationalist; d. 1927.
2. B. 1883; M. D. London; House Surgaon Charing Cross Hospital London; medical practitioner in Delhi; led medical mission to Turkey, 1913; a prominent nationalist; d. 1936.
3. B. 1877; barrister of the Lahore High Court; Minister in the Punjab government with short interruptions, 1921-30; Education Member of Viceroy's Council, 1930-5; d. 1936.
4. Gandhi. 'Baffling Situation', *Harijan*, 6 April 1940, cited in *Star of India*, Calcutta, 6 April 1940.
5. Linlithgow to H. M. the King, 13 June 1940, India Office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/1.

and elsewhere. I have seen only some series of the Indian and British newspapers of the time and a few collections of private papers of the British political leaders deposited in various places in Britain and, through courtesy of Professor D. A. Low, the Sapru papers. Although the quality and quantity of these documents are considerable, the study does not enable me to give a positive picture of the minds of the makers of the partition policy in 1940. For this at least a study of the League papers in Karachi and the Quaid's papers in Islamabad is necessary. In any case, the achievement of the objective depended on unpredictable factors, so the case for partition evolved only as the situation developed and preparation of a lawyer's brief at the outset was not possible. The Quaid himself had stated :

> "The struggle will and must be continued and no man can say when we are at the threshold of it, how it would proceed, and no man can lay down a scheduled programme because it will depend upon so many factors that may develop and the nature of the obstacles that may be created, and we shall deal with the situation from time to time as it may develop. But I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us.[1]

1. Press interview in Lahore on 25 March 1940, *Civil and Military Gazette*, 26 March 1940.

The documents included in this volume, most of which appeared in the contemporary newspapers also, speak for themselves. The Congress having terminated their political partnership with the government in October 1939 on their own and having gone into wilderness until the final phase of 1945-7, Jinnah's policy was first to secure from the government a recognition that the Muslim League was the sole spokesman of the Indian Muslims and having done that to get the government to refuse to make any move towards any constitutional advancement without their agreement. This objective obviously was difficult to realise. It meant that the entire claim of the Congress party representing, even if all the one hundred million Muslims were excluded, approximately three hundred million people must be ignored until the League was conciliated. In other words, all political advance until then must be halted. This prospect was against the traditional British policy and promises repeatedly made, especially in recent times. British government had its own difficulty arising from the war, and there existed in America and even in Britain public opinion which would not accept a *status quo*. After all, many people in Britain,[1] chief among them being Lord Lothian,[2] had worked

1. Such as Lord Halifax (formerly Lord Irwin, Viceroy, 1926-31), Miss Agatha Harrison, Lord Zetland (Secretary of State for India, 1935-40) besides Lord Lothian.

2. Philip Henry Kerr, eleventh Marquess of Lothian, b. 1882; Editor, *Rouud Table*, 1910-16; Secretary to Prime Minister Lloyd George, 1916-21; succeeded to the title, 1930; Liberal party delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round

hard to persuade the Congress to form provincial governments in 1937.[1] Without Congress co-operation, the 1935 Act was meaningless.

Table Conference (1930-2) and member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-4; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1931; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, 1931-2 (resigned from the Cabinet along with his other Liberal colleagues in September 1932 but continued to support the National government on the Indian question); Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, 1932; British Ambassador to Washington from 1939 till his death in December 1940.

1. See the following in HM Scottish Record Office, Lothian Muniments, GD 40 :

(*i*) Lothian to J. Ramsay MacDonald (British Prime Minister), 27 June 1935 and J. Ramsay MacDonald to Lothian, 28 June 1935, 17/297.

(*ii*) G. D. Birla to Lothian, 23 September, 3 November, 7, 21 and 31 December 1935, 17/306, and Lothian to G. D. Birla, 11 October, 1935 (17/297) and 7 February 1936, 17/306.

(*iii*) Lothian to Linlithgow, 31 December 1935 and Linlithgow to Lothian, 13 April 1936, 17/310.

(*iv*) Zetland to Lothian, 6 August 1935 (17/305) and 14 February 1936, 17/312, and Lothian to Zetland, 21 November 1935, 17/311.

(*v*) Lothian to Nehru, 4 March and 9 April 1937 and Nehru to Lothian, 25 March and 18 April 1937, 17/341. Also Lothian to Nehru, 8 November, 6 and 31 December 1935 and Nehru to Lothian, 9 Novembar 1935 and 17 January 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, (London, 1960) letters 114-18.

Clearly then, the odds against the League were heavy, but there were factors which favoured the League position. Viceroy Linlithgow lacked imagination and, content with holding India in check while the war progressed, himself produced no ideas about communal solution. Unlike Irwin, and like his predecessor Willingdon,[1] he had no soft corner or sympathy for the Congress, or even for Jinnah. Further, when Congress had refused to co-operate in war efforts, the League could bargain with him over the supply of Muslim soldiers especially in the Punjab. The Muslim soldiers were not only vitally needed, they were also the backbone of the Indian army. In addition, the League leaders had contacts with Muslims in the Middle East, and the Congress had deliberately gone out of circulation and left a vacuum which the League could exploit.

In the following documents the League objective is fully explained. It may be noticed that the correspondence grew in size in the earlier years and deminished as years passed until in the closing years of Linlithgow's reign, Jinnah and Linlithgow had nothing to correspond about.

(*vi*) Lothian to Halifax, 20 April, 3 7 and 20 May, 1, 17 and 18 June 1937, and Halifax to Lofhian, 2 and 22 June 1937, 17/338.

(*vii*) Lothian to Gandhi, 10 June and 13 July 1937 and Gandhi to Lothian, 24 June 1937, 17/338.

1. Freeman Freeman-Thomas, first Marquess Willingdon, b. 1866; Governor of Bombay, 1913-19; Governor of Madras, 1919-24; Governor-General of Canada, 1926-31; Viceroy of India, 1931-6; d. 1941.

The only Viceroy and perhaps the lone Englishman who ruled India, with the exception of Montagu,[1] who had impressed[2] Jinnah was Irwin.[3] In contrast, Jinnah's relationship with Linlithgow was formal and devoid of trust. On arrival in India, even though he had promised Lothian to have 'a go' over the Indian problem,[4] Linlithgow saw Gandhi in August 1937 for the first time as the Viceroy and met Jinnah a few months after that. Later, he described Jinnah as 'characteristically ungracious' who 'as usual makes an

1. Edwin Samuel Montagu, b. 1879; M. P., 1906-22; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, 1910-14; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1914-16; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1916; Minister of Munitions, 1916; Secretary of State for India 1917-22 (resigned in March 1922); opposed Balfour declaration though a Jew; d. 1924.

2. See my Introduction to *Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence, 1927-30*, (Lahore, 1969), pp. 1-26.

3. Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, b. 1881; President of the Board of Education, 1922-4 and 1932-5; Minister of Agriculture, 1924-5; cr. Baron Irwin, 1925; Viceroy of India, 1926-31; Conservative party delegate to the third session of the Indian Round Table Conference (1932) and member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-4; succeeded father as Viscount Halifax, 1934; Secretary for War, 1935; Lord Privy Seal, 1935-7; Lord President of Council, 1937-8; Foreign Secretary, 1938-40; Mamber of War Cabinet, 1939-45; Ambassador to United States, 1941-6; cr. Earl 1944; d. 1959.

4. Linlithgow to Lothian, 13 April 1936, HM Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, GD40/17/310.

endeavour to twist the facts'.[1] On another occasion, he saw in Jinnah 'a vain and difficult character' about whom he was 'never sure what he will do next'.[2]

I have nothing from Jinnah about Linlithgow. Perhaps his papers in Islamabad and the League records would contain information about it. But the factual position was that the Government of India Act, 1935, over the formation of which Linlithgow had presided was rejected by Jinnah in the strongest terms,[3] and its operation in the Provinces under Linlithgow's stewardship was similarly condemned. Jinnah did achieve quite substantial gains in Linlithgow's time but the factors which were responsible for this were other than Linlithgow's sympathy for Jinnah or the Indian Muslims.[4]

The basic proposition of Partition having been affirmed, the period covered by this correspondence was full of mutual recrimination, and even abuse, by Hindu and Muslim leaders

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1. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, telegram, 27 September 1940, India Office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/19.
2. Lihlithgow to H. M. the King, 7 August 1941, Ibid., 125/1. See also John Glendevon, *The Viceroy at Bay*, (London, 1971), p. 77 for a similar statement. The author is Linlithgow's son.
3. See Jinnah's speech at the opening session of the Muslim League in Bombay on 12 April 1936 in which he called upon the Indians 'to do with' the Act 'what the Germans did with the Treaty of Versailles'. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 14 April 1936.
4. *Supra*, page 10.

against each other. Contemporary newspapers were full of unhealthy charges and counter-charges of this nature and also carried in their pages texts of private letters released to the press soon after they were written. Jinnah, of course, was Hindus' chief target. But his popularity among the Muslims grew enormously and he became their idol and gained their complete confidence. It was at this time that he acquired the appellation of the *Quaid-i-Azam* (great leader). But as yet he had no definite course of action to suggest.[1] Before the actual passage of the Lahore resolution, he never demanded a partition or produced any long-term plan, other than the fourteen points of 1929, and he always spoke of the need for an honourable place for Muslims in India. The partition idea itself had originated much earlier[2] and despite the growing appeal and comments which it attracted from different quarters, Jinnah himself did not take note of it until the period covered by this correspondence was reached.

Both his critics and admirers for different reasons credit him for bringing Pakistan to birth. There is in their conclusion, if not in their argument, a great measure of truth. Jinnah was truly the creator of Pakistan, but he was not the originator of the idea or even its sole or chief propagator. The performance of Nehru and Gandhi with their background of years in jail, loin cloth and *khaddi* dress, emphasis

1. *Supra*, page 8, footnote 1.

2. See my article entitled 'Choudhary Rahmat Ali and the Concept of Pakistan', *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, (Lahore, January 1970).

on the philosophy of non-violence, socialism, secularism and nationalism, gave to Indian story a romantic colour. It must be noted, however, that British withdrawal and Indian freedom were inevitable sooner or later. After all, the forty odd nations in Africa gained only a few years later without any African Gandhi and Nehru what India secured in 1947. But the creation and establishment of Pakistan were hardly within the realm of possibility when it was mentioned as an ideal and even stated as a goal. While the admirers of Jinnah are mainly within the confines of Pakistan, his adversaries are spread all over the globe. The latter condemn his role, ridicule his achievement and seek contradictions in it. To them, his attitude was negative, he was communalist and arrogant and sought personal gratification and, lastly, wanted to compensate in his public life for what he lost in the private. Jinnah's Pakistan, they contend, brought displacement, misery and death to many and it did not even solve the minority problem in the sub-continent. Pakistan which was born was also 'truncated' and 'moth-eaten' and the birth of Bangladesh cancelled the basis of his two-nation theory, a theory which, they argue, he had himself renounced in his opening speech to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in which he had advised the Hindus and Muslims living in Pakistan to cease to be Hindus and Muslims, not in religious but in political terms.[1] These are the charges stated by his denigrators who belong to the class of theorists, academics and politicians. Many answers

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1. See B. N. Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, (Macmillan, 1969), pp. 208-9 for a typical example of such statements.

can be, and have been, given to demolish these arguments. But what is universally conceded is that the realisation of the idea was hardly possible without Jinnah. His conversion to it was late, but after that had taken place, he devoted to the cause the tremendous weight of his personality which was gifted with numerous attributes—such as political maturity and experience, courage, integrity and determination—required for the achievement of the objective. The story of the Pakistan movement in the ten years ending in 1947 is the story of Jinnah, only a minor part of which is illustrated in this correspondence.

I am grateful to the management of the India Office Library, HM Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, Professor D. A. Low and others for assistance. I am also thankful to Dr. M. Jahangir Khan and the Research Society of Pakistan for publishing this correspondence.

WAHEED AHMAD

12 June 1976.

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PART I

M. A. JINNAH TO LORD LINLITHGOW

1. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,
March 16th, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

With reference to my last interview with Your Excellency, I am sending, under separate cover, a copy of the Pirpur Report and also the report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, and further, I am sending a copy of the Resolutions passed by the All-India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938. The resolution of the Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Karachi on October 7th, 1938, is an annexure on the last pages of the Resolutions, which I have marked in blue pencil for Your Excellency's attention.

I hope you will kindly look into these documents and give your earnest consideration to them.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

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1. India office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur, F. 125/121.

2. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
8, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi,
October 23rd, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th October 1939, and I thank you for the courtesy in letting me have in advance the text of a statement issued by Your Excellency on the 17th of October and published on the 18th. An emergency meeting of the Working Committee was called on the 22nd of October and your statement was placed before them for their consideration and after most careful consideration they have passed a resolution a copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your earnest attention. I was glad indeed when Your Excellency asked me to accept from you that you were fully conscious of the various points which I brought to your notice on behalf of the Muslim Community and have given full weight to them.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

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2. *Ibid.*

(Enclosure.)

Text of Resolution.

The following resolution was passed by the Committee :—

"After careful examination of the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated October 17th, 1939, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appreciate that His Majesty's Government have emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that they alone represent all India, and note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government recognise the fact that the All-India Muslim League alone truly represents the Mussalmans of India and can speak on their behalf also, that the rights and interests of the minorities and other important interests concerned have been duly recognised.

'The Committee, however, feel constrained to state that the points of vital importance raised by the Muslim League in their statement, dated September 18th, 1939, are not precisely and categorically met. The Committee, therefore, venture to suggest that in order to secure co-operation on an equal footing, as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of those matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily are necessary, with a view to arriving at a complete understanding, which alone would enable the Muslim League to co-operate in the matter which concerns not only the Mussalmans of India, but the country at large.

"The Committee cannot wholly accept the narration of facts culminating in the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935, as given in the statement of His Excellency, but do not think it is necessary to enter into a controversy regarding those inaccuracies, historic and otherwise. The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the "details" of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and the reconsideration thereof, but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo*. The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of India's Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets with their full approval."

Consultative Group.

"The Committee also considered the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy for the establishment of a 'consultative group' but cannot at present express any opinion with regard to it until its status, constitution, powers, scope and functions are fully known, but welcome further consultation regarding this matter, as proposed by His Excellency in his statement.

"In view of the urgency of the matter the Committee hereby authorise the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to have the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Excellency's Statement and, if the President is fully satisfied, the

Committee empower him to give assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war."

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3. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
8-B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi
October 30th, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of October, 1939, and I thank you for it.

My coversation referred to by Your Excellency was at the initial stages of discussion that were then going on and ultimately you did have talks with the Muslim League Leaders before you issued your statement. Since then the Working Committee has given me full authority to deal with the matter in question amongst other things by their resolution of the 22nd of October, 1939, a copy of which has already been sent to you.

In these circumstances I do not think I shall be justified in making any distinction by bringing with me on the 1st of November, 1939 "any of my leading supporters".

As regards the "Constitutional Matters', may I request you to let me know what are the specific points you wish to discuss with Mr. Gandhi and me on the 1st November, 1939 so that I may apply my mind to the matter before the meeting takes place.

As regards paragraph two of your letter I shall await your early reply.

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH.

3. *Ibid.*

4. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A., President,
All-India Muslim League,
November 4th, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

With reference to the joint interview which Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, and myself had with you on the 1st of November and in reply to your letter, dated the 2nd of November, I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency, namely — to quote from Your Excellency's letter — "The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the greatest importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussion between yourselves in the Provincial field consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as Members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to receive every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre", without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim

League of the 22nd of October stating that the Declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty's Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demands of the Congress for a Declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the 10th of October 1939.

In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the Provincial field or "at the Centre" until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee; hence two questions were not further discussed.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

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4. *Ibid.*

5. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Gul-i-Raana, 8-B, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, November 5th, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th of October wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 22nd of October.

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply :—

(1) that as soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo* ;

(2) that no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz.*, the Mussalmans and the Hindus ;

(3) that His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine ;

(4) that the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above of what is indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th September, viz., the question of securing justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed Provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessely trampled upon; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning.

Your sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

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5. *Ibid.*

6. M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Bombay,
November 18th, 1939.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th November 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore, mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency, dated the 5th November and your letter under reply.

Yours sincerely.
M. A. JINNAH.

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6. *Ibid.*

7. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., to Viceroy.

Telegram, Bombay, November 29th, 1939.

Hope my letter 18th has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible.

7. *Ibid.*

8. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,
February 2nd, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Many thanks for your letter of the 1st of February. I shall be very glad to see you at 11 a. m. on Tuesday, as described by Your Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

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8. India office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/122.

9. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,
February 6th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February 1940, regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

P. S.

I am enclosing herewith also a draft of the proposed communique. M. A. J.

(Enclosure 1.)
Resolution :

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply, dated 23rd December 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require

further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee, dated 18th September and 22nd October 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,

Honorary Secretary.

(Enclosure 2.)

Draft Communique.

In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy. The conversation which lasted for over an hour, ranged over the whole position.

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that the attitude adopted by the Government had created fear and suspicion in the minds of Mussalmans and other minorities and interests that the Government was prepared to make a compromise with the Congress which might be highly detrimental to their interests. His Excellency, however, assured Mr. Jinnah that there need

be no such apprehension and nothing will be done to prejudice those interests and the position of His Majesty's Government remains the same as already defined by His Excellency the Viceroy.

9. *Ibid.*

10. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi
February 24th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I placed the whole correspondence that had passed between Your Excellency and myself, ending with your letter dated the 23rd of December 1939, before the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the 3rd of February, 1940.

The Working Committee, after very careful consideration, passed a resolution, a copy of the text of which I have already sent to Your Excellency with a covering letter, dated the 6th of February. As was desired by Your Excellency in our conversation on the 6th instant, I now beg to state briefly the views of the Working Committee which are as follows :—

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency, with the approval of His Majesty's Government on 18th October, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point, the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met namely that no declaration should, either

in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurances when you state "His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim Community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views, will be underrated." But I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your

Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on, or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India, to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of wholehearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitment will be made with regard to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any

community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans, but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands, as explained by me above, cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details; but, if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller details at an early date, whenever Your Excellency finds it convenient.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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10. *Ibid.*

11. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,
April 8th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This is just to inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning by the Frontier Mail.

After Your Excellency's letter of 28th February acknowledging my letter of the 24th February in which the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League were placed for your consideration, Your Excellency was good enough to grant me an interview on the 13th March. In the course of the interview Your Excellency intimated to me that you were in communication with His Majesty's Government with regard to the subject-matter of the letters, and I was expecting to get an early reply from Your Excellency, I hope that you will now communicate to me your final answer as soon as possible to my Bombay address, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Your sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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11. *Ibid.*

12. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Elphinstone Lodge, Matheran,
May 17th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

I am enclosing herewith a letter in connection with the trouble that is going on which I received today. It is confidential and it comes from a reliable source. I have also been repeatedly pressed by the Muslims of Budaun and have received representations from them and during my tour in the month of March a delegation of responsible persons waited on me, and as the matter was pending before the Government of the United Provinces, I advised them to await their decision. Since then I have received several telegrams asking me to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to this matter. I hope that you will do the needful.

I do not want to burden you with the pile of material that I have received; but if need be, I shall be glad to supply further details.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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(Enclosure.)

My dear Mr. Jinnah.

With reference to my telegram, dated May the 14th, 1940, I have the honour to state that the Muslims of Budaun are in dire need of your assistance in this hour of their greatest and most unjustifiable persecution known since many generations. Their case has already been brought before you as one of the numerous tyrannies of the Congress Government of the United Provinces. The case is known as Nagla Sharqi case. The incident took place in 1938 over the Moharram procession. A communal riot was feared at the occasion, but nothing took place. The Congress Government and their deputed officials seized the opportunity for tyrannysing the Muslims of Budaun who have been all along outstanding supporters of the Muslim League and fought tooth and nail against the Congress ideology. They were, therefore, fined Rs. 32,000 as a fine for their resistance to Congress in the form of Punitive Police Tax, which was inflicted upon them without any justification and impartial enquiry. The Muslims duly represented their case to all the authorities including the Governor. No body would hear them. They also represented their case to the Muslim League and to the Hon'ble the Premier of Bengal. Their case was claimed as an act of injustice by the Congress Government of the United Provinces, and an enquiry was demanded. The Congress Government secured the sanction of the Governor who refused to hear the Muslim view. Now when the Congress has left the office the Government officials are looking after their legacy. They are ruthlessly

realising money from the Muslims. The district officials are giving no sympathetic hearing even to the individual cases. The Muslims being extremely poor are to be deprived of their houses and properties. There is a great panic and harassment among them.

I entreat you to move the Viceroy immediately to stop the realization of the tax and to order an impartial enquiry. The truth of Muslim grievances against the Congress has already been unequivocally proved by the Nagpur High Court (*vide Statesman.* Delhi edition, dated 13th May, p. 2, Darel Salam). The persecution of the innocent Muslims must immediately cease; otherwise it will have a great depressing effect on them.

I trust you will kindly regard this a very serious situation and do whatever you can to move the Viceroy to interfere emergently. We have our case fully prepared for any judicial and legal scrutiny.

With respectful regards.

Your devotedly.

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2. *Ibid.*

13. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Elphinstone Lodge, Matheran,
May 18th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th April, 1940, and I thank you for it. I hope you will excuse me for the delay in replying to it before now, as I was uncertain as to what course I should adopt in the matter especially as the appointment of the personnel of the Working Committee was pending; but I now beg to inform you that I propose to place the matter before the Working Committee, constituted for the ensuing year for their consideration, and will communicate their views to Your Excellency as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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13. *Ibid.*

14. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President. All-India Muslim League,
Elphinstone Lodge, Matheran,
May 29th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am sorry to worry you at this moment, but I felt that I must send to you the enclosed copy of the letter which I have received from the Mufti of Palestine who is now in Baghdad for your consideration.

I need hardly add anything more in this letter because you are fully alive to the situation in Palestine.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure.)

Baghdad, 22nd Moharram 1359,
(3rd February 1940).

The Supreme Arab Committee of Palestine have the honour to communicate to you their fears of the present situation of the Palestine Arab nation which is now being submitted to a rigorous and severe measure which tends finally to annihilate the best elements in it. Hundreds of men, although peace and security have been established since

the declaration of the war, thank to the efforts of the leaders who thought to pursue the policy of friendship with the democracies adopted by surrounding Arab Governments have been under trial. Still the Palestinean Government is sending Palestinean Arabs in hundreds to military courts where many of whom are being condemned to death in many cases for trivials, though the Palestine Arabs, as you know, have done nothing besides defending their own country which is being obviously invaded and doing their religious duty towards the Muslim Holy Places which are scattered all over Palestine. These capital punishments are responsible for the lives of not less than 150 Muslims. In *Ramadan* last, the British authorities have executed twelve martyrs in Palestine. Among those who were recently condemned to death and executed there are the following martyrs :—

1.	Khalil Abou Leben, Arab Merchant in Yaffa executed ...	30-12-39
2.	Ahmed El Faris from Umel Fahm Village executed ...	15-12-39
3.	Yousuf Mohammad Abdul Yabir from Anata Village executed ...	15-12-39
4.	Ali Asad Khalil Abou Sureysir from Yebid Village executed ...	18-1-40
5.	Mohammed Abdul Karim El Sheick from Haifa executed ...	18-1-40

6. Nayif Mahmoud Abou Omar El Halbouni from Bisan executed ... 18-1-40

7. Ahmed Kess Kessab El Faraj from Bisan executed ... 18-1-40

8. Sheick Mahmoud Ahmed Gazal from Azzoun executed ... 25-1-40

9. Asad El Cartir from Lidda executed ... 31-1-40

10. Abdulrahim Abdul Yawad from Bisan condemned ... 25-1-40

Twelve other persons have been condemned to death and await execution: namely—

1. Ali Abdullah Shahin from Lidda condemned on the ... 29-1-40

2. Ali Saad Ridwan El Salihi from Lidda condemned on the ... 29-1-40

3. Abdullatif Shoukukani from Lidda condemned on the ... 29-1-40

4. Ahmed El Asad Abuu Sharkiyye from Gett condemned on the ... 3-2-40

5. Mohammad El Zeidan from Gett condemned on the ... 3-2-40

6. Yabar Huseyn El Ali from Gett condemned on the ... 3-2-40

7. Mohammad Ahmed El Said from Gett condemned on the ... 3-2-40

8. Mahmoud El Zeyn from Lidda condemned on the ... 5-2-40
9. Mohammed Hamid Abou Arab from Lidda condemned on the ... 5-2-40
10. Abdul Muti Abou Sherif from Lidda condemned on the ... 5-2-40
11. Abdulkader El Rayi from El Magaz condemned on the ... 5-2-40
12. Mohammed Yusuf Suleyman from Callouza condemned on the ... 5-2-40

The military courts are still continuing this policy of extirpation. Those who are not being condmned to death are condmned to severely long term's imprisonment, the number of whom has become now exceedingly great. Many are still now under trial and many are awaiting their execution.

In these circumstances and after repeated appeals to the British Government without avail, we turn our faces to you, after God, to render whatever assistance available to you, so that this courageous small people of Palestine should not perish. We have great hopes that with the distinguished position you possess now, your word amongst the authorities will have its great influence. Could we rely upon this word to be kindly used for the deliverance of our people.

MUFTI OF PALESTINE.

To

His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah,
President, All-India Muslim League, Bombay.

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14. *Ibid.*

15. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
June 14th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

The gentleman referred to in your letter, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Saiyid Mohammad, on enquiry I found is the President of the District Muslim League, Budaun, who had an interview with His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces. I enquired of him whether it was correct that he demanded from His Excellency the Governor the cost of the lorry only to be excused and nothing more, and I have received from him a letter which shows that His Excellency has misunderstood him.

I am enclosing the original letter which speaks for itself.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

P. S.

Please return the original.

(Enclosure.)

District Muslim League, Budaun,
Dated 6th June 1940.

Dear Sir,

Received your letter, dated 31st May 1940, along with other papers. I beg to submit that it is I about whom you have referred in your letter. I am the President of the District Muslim League, Budaun, for the last one and a half year. The District Muslim League under my Presidentship passed various resolutions in protest of Punitive Police Tax. Various representations and memorials were submitted to His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces, and the then Congress Government. The Mussalmans were at one time informed by the Government that it was not prepared to reconsider their case. After the resignation of the Congress Government the matter was again moved and the present Government being convinced of the innocence of the Mussalmans withdrew the additional Police Force from Budaun before the expiry of the whole term.

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet visited Budaun on 5th March 1940. During his visit I had an interview with him and discussed the whole question of Punitive Tax and also submitted a written statement duly signed by the members of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League, Budaun, showing the grievances of Budaun Muslims with a request to enquire into the matter and remit the

whole tax. A copy of this statement was submitted to you by the Secretary of the District Muslim League when you paid a visit to Bareilly in March last. I had requested His Excellency for a reply to this representation which he had very gladly promised. But when no such reply was received I sought another interview with him, because the District authorities were about to start the realization of the tax. I was granted an interview with His Excellency on the 22nd May, 1940. During our talk I requested His Excellency the Governor to remit the whole tax as it was unjust and unjustifiable to which His Excellency replied that he had got the file with him, and the matter was under consideration. I also explained to him that how unreasonable it was to include the cost of a Lorry in the amount of tax, although no use of the Lorry was occasioned. His Excellency also asked me to see Mr. Sloan his adviser and this interview was arranged by His Excellency himself. I saw Mr. Sloan immediately afterwards and he heard the whole case patiently but said that he had not received the file as yet. I had made a mention of the Lorry simply to show the unreasonableness of the whole matter. This was not the only objection I had raised. I had already submitted a long list of Muslim grievances when I had seen His Excellency last time in March. The interview of the 22nd May was in continuation of the representation submitted to His Excellency the Governor on 5th March, 1940. I never meant to give His Excellency to understand that the Muslims of Budaun were satisfied with the previous decision of the Government.

I hope that you will be satisfied with the above explanation and in the end I would request you to kindly continue

your efforts with the Government of India to redress the grievances of the Mussalmans of Budaun.

Faithfully your,

SAYED MOHAMMAD, K. B.,
President, District Muslim League, Budaun.

To

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.

15. *Ibid.*

16. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
June 17th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee on the 16th June, at its sitting in Bombay, and if you desire to discuss it further or require my presence I shall be glad to meet you.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure.)

Resolution No. 1—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 19th April, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to the Press on the 27th May, 1940 :—

"Up to the present moment, we have not created any

difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The Provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

"Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing, as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

"A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met with the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

"With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show

trust in Muslim leadership. There are many ways of doing so—and, as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation, we shall not fail.

"The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country, and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the Defence of India indicated in the statement of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the statement of some provincial Governors, are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purposes of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee is of the view that, unless a satisfactory

basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved. The Working Committee is of opinion that, in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country, real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions."

Resolution No. 2.—

"In view of the numerous enquiries that have been received from the various Provincial and District Leagues and individual members seeking guidance and instructions as to what course they should adopt towards these proposed War Committees announced by His Excellency the Viceroy and some Governors, the Working Committee is of opinion that at present Muslims should not serve on these Committees and should await further instructions from the President pending the result of the communication with the Viceroy."

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16. *Ibid.*

17. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Cecil Hotel, Simla,
June 28th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have received your letter of the 27th June, 1940, giving me the detailed account of the position in Palestine. I need hardly say that I am most grateful to you for this and I will go through this and communicate with you further in the matter if necessary.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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17. *Ibid.*

18. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Cecil Hotel, Simla,
June 28th, 1940.

(Private.)

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am enclosing herewith a telegram which I received last night. This is typical and it echoes universal opinion of Muslims all over India, for I have received any number of telegrams and letters before I left Bombay to this effect.

Any statement of policy therefore must not militate against this basic principle of Lahore resolution because I must say that now it has really become their *faith*. I was really glad to hear from you that you were fully alive to the position.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure.)

Copy of telegram from Mr. Hasrat Mohani to Mr. Jinnah, dated Cawnpore, 27th June 1940.

Please insist Pakistan scheme. Without assured establishment of scheme after War agreeing with Indian Federation like Viceroy's proposal against League Creed.

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18. *Ibid.*

19. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
July 16th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

With reference to our talk regarding the Khaksar situation in the Punjab, I have made one more attempt to find a satisfactory solution and I am enclosing herewith a copy of the statement that I issued from Simla and the subsequent development that is shown by the correspondence that has passed between me and Dr. Mohammad Ismail Nami of Calcutta.

I am inclined to think from what information is available to me that he is next to Mashraqi in the Khaksar organisation.

He has accepted my advice and has suspended defiance till 27th July, but if necessary I will be able to persuade him for continuing this suspension pending our being able to find a satisfactory solution. I think we ought not to miss this opportunity at this juncture to bring the Khaksars round as the matter has now gone beyond the Khaksar organisation and there is a universal feeling among the Mussalmans all over India and particularly in the Punjab that they are being crushed by the Punjab Government at the bidding of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan.

If you are inclined to take up the matter as I thought

you were inclined, during the course of our conversation, I shall be glad to do all I can to see that a reasonable solution is accepted by the Khaksars.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

Answer must be kept strictly in line with policy in regard to "Private Armies" as soon as this is settled.

L.-19-7.

[Linlithgow]

(Enclosure 1.)

Text of the Statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on the 19th May, 1940.

I have received numerous telegrams from influential persons from various parts of India, and in particular from the Punjab, during the last few days urging me to go to Lahore at once and negotiate with the Punjab Government a settlement regarding the Khaksar trouble.

I wish to inform the public and the Muslim Leaguers specially that I have no authority or power given to me by the Khaksar organisation, or those who are the leaders now guiding the movement. I have spoken to many of them,

19. *Ibid.*

who came to see me, but none can speak with authority or give me the authority to bring about a just and honourable settlement with the Government.

The Muslim League at Lahore had to deal with the situation purely from the point of view and on the basis that the Khaksars being a mainly Muslim organisation, it was incumbent upon us to see that full justice was done to them and that the Punjab Government dealt with them fairly and justly. But the organisation has not so far cared to take the fullest advantage of our services, as they have acted and are acting independently of the Muslim League.

In order to refresh public memory as to what the exact position was before the sessions of the Muslim League at Lahore may I point out shortly that there were the four questions raised —

(1) The ban on Khaksar activities of a military and semi-military character which was already imposed upon them by the Punjab Government.

(2) The defiance of this ban, which was going on.

(3) The unfortunate clash between the Khaksars and the police culminating in the firing upon them, which resulted in terrible loss of life and injuries on March 19th, 1940.

(4) The order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful.

They murdered my which officers *first*. L. (Linlithgow)

The Muslim League sessions by its resolution urged upon the Government to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal to enquire into the firing and the cause which led to the clash, which resulted in terrible bloodshed. That enquiry is going on. The Muslim League also called upon the Government to withdraw the order, by which the Khaksar organisation was declared unlawful as soon as possible. In the meantime it was expected that the Khaksars would cease the defiance of the ban and observe peace to enable us to examine the terms of the ban, which was directed against their alleged military or semi-military activities.

According to the declared creed of the Khaksars, it was urged and pointed out that their aims and objects were religious and social service, and hence any misunderstanding or apprehension on the part of the Government should be removed.

But after the Lahore resolution was passed, it was difficult to find any one on behalf of the Khaksars, who could either control or guide their members and give me the requisite authority and power to negotiate with the Government.

On the contrary, the defiance of law and order continued, and this has led to the situation getting from bad to worse.

I must point out that the Khaksar organisation is entirely independent of the Muslim League and it has no connection with it. The Muslim League cannot do anything in the

matter as we have no control or supervoin over is the activities of the organisation, nor have we got any authority or power to speak on their behalf and come to a settlement which would be implemented or fully carried out and adhered to.

In these circumstances with all the sympathies for the Khaksar organisation, I feel helpless in the matter.

(Enclosure 2.)

Copy of the Statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah from Simla June 28.

From *Hindustan Times* June 29th, 1940.

MR. JINNAH AND THE KHAKSARS.

Prepared to Bring About Settlement.

An appeal to the Khaksar leaders to put their heads together to enable him with authority to serve them and to follow his advice and that he would in that case be prepared to do all he can to find an honourable solution was made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press today.

Mr. Jinnah said : "I have received a number of letters and was personally pressed by the Muslim public on my way to Simla from Bombay to Khaksar trouble. There is also an impression among the Muslim public and the rank and file of the Khaksars that the All-India Muslim League is not doing anything in the matter. I may reiterate that it is the declared policy of the All-India Muslim League to do

all it can to help the Muslims wherever they may be and see that justice is done to them. I personally have not concealed my sympathy with the Khaksars generally and I would like to repeat that if the Khaksar leaders put their heads together and enable me with authority to serve them and follow my advice I shall be prepared to do all I can to find an honourable solution of the present impasse."

(Enclosure 3.)

Copy of the Correspondence between Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Dr. Mohd. Ismail Nami, the Khaksar Leader.

Text of the *Telegram from Dr. Mohd. Ismail Nami to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*—Calcutta 30th June 1940.

Regarding your recent statement I the present head of Khaksar movement delegate authority for honourable peace including removal ban 28th February, release Allama Mashriqi, others, compensation refund fine and property.

From Mr. Jinnah to Dr. Mohd. Ismail Nami—5th July 1940. Bombay

Your telegram. My advice suspend defiance pending negotiations. If your instructions obeyed by rank and file your authority cannot be doubted. Willing help find solution.

From Dr. Mohd. Ismail Nami to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.—Calcutta, 6th July 1940.

Advice accepted, order issued for suspending defiance law till 27th July. Instruct Sikandar Hyat Khan also suspend arresting Khaksars.

Copy of the letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Dr. Nami.—Bombay, 11th July 1940.

I received your telegram of the 6th July suspending defiance of law by the Khaksars in Punjab till 27th July. I will communicate with you in the matter as soon as possible.

20. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
July 17th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th July, 1940, and thank you for it.

I am glad that you have noted the points contained in paragraph 1 of my memorandum, and also the first sentence in paragroph 2. I may point out that after the first sentence in paragraph 2 the second sentence beginning with "in view of the rapid developments . . ." should have been marked paragraph 3, and paragraph 3 should have been marked paragraph 4.

As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of advisers to the Governor and the position of the Governor, working under Section 93 (administration) I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a War Council, in your opinion, is well worth while considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and co-operation, the legal and

constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete understanding.

I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in paragraph 5 of your letter, with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council or as non-officials advisers, which runs as follows: "but in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration". On my part I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

In the conclusion I should like to impress upon you that the Muslim public is very anxious to know what has been happening during our interview and what has been the result. The Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum which I had sent to you, with the corrections that I have already pointed out, which are merely a matter of arrangement of paragraphs.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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20. *Ibid.*

21. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
August 2nd, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th July 1940 regarding the publication of my tentative proposals placed before you. Obviously I am awaiting your reply.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned they have already got a fairly good idea of the points that were discussed between us. But the importance of the points is, as, I am glad, you appreciate it, that how long do you expect me to wait and not give any idea to the general Muslim public, as to what are those proposals.

My stating to the press as to what were the suggestions that were made on behalf of the Muslim League to you and through Your Excellency to His Majesty's Government cannot prejudice anybody or give rise to any misunderstanding with regard to your position.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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21. *Ibid.*

22. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
August 2, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter about the Khaksar movement, dated the 24th July 1940.

I moved in the matter firstly, because Your Excellency showed concern about the Khaksar situation in the Punjab in the course of our conversation on the 27th June; and secondly, that in the earlier stages Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, in the course of our correspondence, indicated in the following words: "It may be necessary to consult the Government of India also, and consequently it will take some time before final decision can be taken". Lastly, I can cite more than one instance that the Viceroy and the Governor-General have found a way to intervene when it was considered necessary.

However, I am sorry if Your Excellency considers that in this case you do not see your way to intervene.

I am glad that Your Excellency informs me that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has published the conditions on which he would be prepared to revoke the order which declares the Khaksars an unlawful association. I am not aware of those

conditions, but I have requested Dr. Nami to obtain a copy of those conditions and get in direct touch with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

Yours sincerely

M. A. JINNAH.

22. *Ibid.*

23. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
August 7th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th August 1940, and thank you for sending me an advance copy of your proposed Statement, which you are going to publish in the morning papers of Thursday, the 8th instant.

With regard to the paragraph 2 of your letter I shall have to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League before I can let you have my reply. The appointment with Your Excellency is fixed as I understood from the letter of Mr. Irwin of the 4th of August, on Monday, August 12th at 3 p. m. and not on the 13th as you have stated in your letter.

Please let me know the correct date and time.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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23. *Ibid.*

24. M. A. Jinnab, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
August 24th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th August 1940 and beg to inform Your Excellency that I will place the whole matter before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which has been called to meet at Bombay on the 31st August and will communicate their views to you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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24. *Ibid.*

25. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
September 5th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

In continuation of my letter of the 24th of August 1940, I beg to enclose herewith the resolution of the Working Committee of 2nd September in reply to your letter of the 14th August 1940.

Hoping that it will receive Your Excellency's most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure.)

Bombay, September 2, 1940.

Resolution No. 2—

The Working Committee of All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the statement issued by His Excellency has Viceroy on August 8th, 1940, and the authoritative amplification and clarification of it by Mr. Amery on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the course of the India debate in the House

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25. *Ibid.*

of Commons on August 14th. The Committee consider that these pronouncements constitute a considerable progressive advance towards the approach of the point of view and the position taken up by the League on behalf of Muslim India and the Committee also note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government have on the whole practically met the demands of the League for a clear assurance to the effect that no future constitution, interim or final, should be adopted by the British Government without their approval and consent.

Resolution No. 3—

The Working Committee place on record that some of the observations, made in the statement of the Viceroy and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the theory of unity of national life which does not exist, are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Muslims of India, and therefore the Committee deem it necessary to reafirm and make the position clear once more that the Committee stand by the Lahore resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent States in the North-West and Eastern zones of India where the Muslims are in majority, and the Committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's future constitution and are glad to note that the vital importance and the

true aspects of this question are being fully realised by the British Parliament; and that His Majesty's Government are now fully apprised and siezed of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny.

Resolution No. 4—

The Working Committee appreciate that His Majesty's Government have conceded the principle urged upon them by the League that in order to secure genuine and full support of Muslim India and such other parties as are and have been ready and willing to undertake the responsibility and are prepared to make every contribution to the intensification of the war efforts and for the defence of India with a view to meet any external danger or aggression and to maintain internal security and peace they (Government) should forthwith associate the representatives of the League with authority and power as partners in the Central and Provincial Governments and establish a War Council which will include the Indian Princes and thus secure their co-operation also.

The Committee therefore are glad that His Majesty's Government provisionally and during the prosecution of the war have decided upon the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the establishment of

a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, although they regret that His Majesty's Government have declared that they at this stage do not contemplate non-official advisers in the Provinces which are at present administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The Committee, however, find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated August 14th, purporting to give effect and implement that principle of co-operation with authority in the Government as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this Committee of June 16th, 1940, which was communicated by the President to His Excellency the Viceroy by his letter of June 17th, 1940, nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to His Excellency by the President on July 1st, 1940.

In these circumstances the Committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons :—

(1) Neither the President nor the Committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of the additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

(2) The Committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted.

(3) The Committee have no information as to which

are the other parties with which the Muslim League will be called upon to work.

(4) The Committee understand that the President has not been informed as to what portfolios will be assigned to everyone of these additional members. The Committees are merely asked without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of eleven, to send a penal of four out of which two will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

(5) The Committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them.

(6) As regards the proposed War Advisory Council the Committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions, beyond the information that it will probably consist of about twenty members and the Committee are asked to submit a penal out of which five will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy.

In these circumstances the Committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request His Excellency the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorise the President to seek further information and clarification.

Bombay, September 2, 1940.

Resolution No. 5 —

The resolution of the Working Committee passed at Bombay on the 16th of June 1940 requesting tne Mussalmans generally and in particular the members of the Muslim League not to serve on the War Committee and to await further instructions from the President pending the result of the negotiations with the Viceroy was not a decision that adopted the policy of non-co-operation with the Government as has wrongly been represented by the enemies of the Muslim League but on the contrary was intended to urge upon the Government a line of action and policy which they should adopt to secure more effective co-operation in the prosecution of the war. There were two very vital points for which the Committee have been pressing the Government, namely, (1) that no constitution either interim or final would be adopted by His Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of Muslim India, and (2) that in order to secure genuine and whole-hearted support of the Mussalmans, it was imperative that within the framework of the present constitution Muslim India leadership should be associated as a partner in the realm of the Central and Provincial Governments forthwith.

As a result of the negotiations the Working Committee are glad to state that the first point has now been practically met by the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy of the 8th of August 1940, and the amplification and clarification of that statement by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the course of his speech on the 14th of August 1940, in Parliament and the Committee note with satisfaction that the

Government have accepted the principle of second point that was urged upon them, namely, "co-operation with authority and power" in the Governments in order to prosecute the war successfully.

In view of these circumstances the Working Committee leave those Mussalmans who think they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the War Committee, free to do so.

The Committee are of the opinion that the Government should, in fact and not merely in principle, take without delay the Muslim leadership into their complete confidence and associate them as equal partners in charge of reins of the Government in the Centre and in the Provinces in order to secure a genuine and whole-hearted co-operation of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully.

Bombay, September 2, 1940.

Resolution No. 6—

The Working Committee have carefully considered the notification of the Government of India of the 6th of August 1940, together with the explanatory communique issued by the Government of India on the 24th of August, with regard to the Volunteer Organisations. The Muslim National Guard Corps were started over two years ago and the aims and objects of the organisation are defined in Resolution No. 4 of the Working Committee passed on the 17th of June 1940, which runs as follows: to train and disciple Muslims in co-ordinate activity for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country.

Recently instructions were given to the Provincial Muslim League to strengthen the Muslim National Guard Corps and to give them such training as would enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam and to assist at and control the meetings of the Muslim League and generally for the purpose of social service and uplift. The Committee therefore are of opinion that the ban imposed by the Government is not intended to prohibit or restrict such legitimate activities. In three circumstances the Committee direct the various Provincial Leagues to exert every nerve to start, organise, and strengthen Muslim National Guards and the Committee trust that their activities will be carried on within the limits of the law.

26; M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, September 26th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th September 1940, in reply to the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 2nd September which was despatched to you with my covering letter of the 5th September.

I shall place the matter before the Committee on the 28th September and let you have the reply as soon as possible.

May I now inform you that I propose to release to the Press the correspondence and the memorandum submitted by me to Your Excellency on the 1st of July, ane I hope you will have no objection to my doing so, as I think the public are entitled to know and understand the matter in its true perspective.

Yours sincerely

M. A. JINNAH.

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26. *Ibid.*

27. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, September 26th, 1940.

(Private & Personal.)

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th of September and I extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which raised during the course of our conversation on the 24th, though in the course of discussion you appreciated and recognized that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned, namely, that, in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with your Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the War, it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League Party, as we were entering into, so to say, a "War contract".

I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but, I am afraid, it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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27. *Ibid.*

28. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, September 30th, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I beg to send you herewith a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee, confirmed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 29th of September 1940, with regard to your offer relating to the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General as intimated to you in my letter of the 26th of September.

Yours sincerely

M. A. JINNAH.

(Enclosure.)

TEXT OF RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE HELD ON THE 28TH OF SEPTEMBER 1940 AT GUL-I-RAANA, NEW DELHI, UNDER THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF MR. M. A. JINNAH.

Resolution No. 1—

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in its meeting at Bombay on the 2nd of September 1940, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 14th of August 1940, addressed to the

President, containing the specific offer regarding the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, had requested His Excellency to reconsider the matter and authorised the President to seek further information and clarification, particularly on the points set out in the resolutions before the Committee could deal with the offer. As a result of the communication of these resolutions to His Excellency the Viceroy, he invited the President to meet him on the 24th of September and after full and free discussion of the points arising out of these resolutions, His Excellency was pleased to send a formal reply, dated the 25th of Septembnr 1940. After giving their most earnest and careful consideration to the whole matter, the Committee, notwithstanding their desire from the very beginning to help in the prosecution of the War and the defence of India, regret that they are unable to accept the present offer for the following reasous :—

1. That the inclusion of only 2 representatives of the Muslim League in the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council, of whioh neither the total strength nor the number of additional members has so far been definitely determined, does not give any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre.

(2) That no indication has been given as to what would be the position of the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of the War, and the

Government agreeing to associate it with the Executive Council, which may involve a substantial modification and reshuffling of the Executive.

(3) That so far, the Government do not propose to appoint non-official advisers in those Provinces which are being administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Committee feel that without the association of the Muslim League representatives in the administration of those Provinces it will not be possible to secure real and effective co-operation of the Mussalmans.

(4) That the proposed War Advisory Council is yet in embryo and no information is available as to its constitution, composition and functions, except that it will probably consist of about 20 members and that the question of setting it up will be considered after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete.

(5) That out of the various points raised in the resolution of the Committee of the 2nd of September only one relating to penal has been satisfactorily met.

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28. *Ibid.*

29. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
President, All-India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
October 31st, 1940.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am sending you under separate over a booklet entitled "India's Problem of her Future Constitution", which, I thought, would interest you.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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29. *Ibid.*

30. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
August 23rd, 1943.

Your Excellency,

I beg to inform you that I have been receiving information concerning the various developments that have been taking place in Kashmir for the last few months from very reliable sources and my recent information leads me to believe that the Kashmir situation is very grave. I am not advisably sending you the details because I am sure that you have already more information and perhaps more reliable than I possess. The purpose of writing this letter to you is to earnestly request your attention to this matter without further delay. If you desire I can send you the summary of various developments that have taken place culminating into the resignation of Sir Maharaj Singh, the late Premier of Kashmir and since his departure from Kashmir. I hope it will receive your immediate consideration and result in consequent necessary action in the matter, which will do justice to the Mussalmans, who are going through an ordeal of tremendous hardships, sufferings and injustice which is meted out to them by the State authorities and its administration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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30. Indian Office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/125.

31. M. A. Jinnab, Esq., M. L. A.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
September 15th, 1943.

Your Excellency,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th of September 1943, for which I thank you. It is not marked confidential or personal, yet I write to ask you, whether you would agree to my letter of the 23rd August 1943 and your reply of the 7th September 1943 being released to the Press. You know so far I have refrained from saying anything in the Press with regard to the situation that has arisen in Kashmir because I though I might to adding to what it already a very serious situation, as the developments there have stirred up not only the Mussalmans of Kashmir but throughout India. It seems to me that in this very high tense of feeling that is prevailing, the publication of my letter and Your Excellency's reply might help to allay the situation and also the people should know that I myself have not been unmindful to the representations that have been pouring in for the last few months from the different parts of Kashmir and India. In these circumstances, if you agree, then I should like to release the correspondence at an appropriate moment.

I need hardly say that I appreciate very much indeed the assurances given by Your Excellency and that the matter is receiving Your Excellency's earnest consideration.

Yours sincerely

M. A. JINNAH.

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31. *Ibid.*

32. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.
September 30th, 1943.

Your Excellency,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of September 1943 and I thank you for it. I must say that apart from the question of my releasing the correspondence, your letter under reply is somewhat disappointing.

With regard to your giving me information that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has now appointed a Commission to consider and report upon the whole question of "Reforms" in tne State was already known to me and one of the grievances is with regard to the personnel of the Commission amongst others relating to this Commission, but far more serious situation is created by the present administration and Kashmir Authorities in the day-to-day Administration and the way in which the Muslims are treated there. The accounts that I have received lead me to believe that the present situation is intolerable unless some responsible independent and impartial head of the Administration takes charge of the affairs of the Kashmir Administration. Ill-treatment, oppression and tyranny to the Muslims is rampant and this matter requires your immediate attention. I gathered from your letter of the 7th September 1943 that you were fully alive to the whole situation and proceeded to State "I can assure you further more that the whole situation will continue to receive my constant attention and

I hope that the doubts to which you have given expression about conditions in the State wiil presently be *totally* resolved".

In conclusion. I should like to draw your attention to the fact and you must have observed that my letter of the 23rd of August and subsequent letters are addressed to you in your offieial capacity as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, however, as you prefer that the correspondence should not be released I have refrained from doing so at any rate for the present.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

32. *Ibid.*

PART II

LORD LINLITHGOW TO Mr. M. A. JINNAH

1. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
March 18th, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very grateful to you for your courtesy in sending me these copies of the Pirpur Report and also all the other papers mentioned in your letter of 16th March. I will readily look into them and give them, as you ask me to, my earnest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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1. India Office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/121.

2. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
October 24th, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 23rd October. I am most grateful to you for your courtesy in letting me have this copy of the statement issued by the Working Committee which shall have my close attention and a copy of which I am sending to the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely.

LINLITHGOW.

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2. *Ibid.*

3. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
October 28th, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall much appreciate it if you could come to see me at 11 a. m. on Wednesday, the 1st November, to discuss the present position. I am also asking Mr. Gandhi to come at the same time, and I have also invited Dr. Rajendra Prasad. It would give me pleasure if you would care to bring with you one of your leading supporters (you will remember that you indicated to me in one of our conversations that you would like me to let you know should I think there would at any time be advantage in your bringing someone with you when these constitutional matters were under discussion).

2. I have not in fact as yet sent a formal reply to your letter asking for certain clarifications of my recent statement. I think the debate will have made the position in regard to them very clear; but I shall of course be very glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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3. *Ibid.*

4. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi.
October 31st, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 30th October. I am very glad that you will come tomorrow, and look forward to seeing you then. The decision as to whether or not you wish to be accompanied by anyone is entirely one for you and I of course readily accept your judgment that there is no need for you to bring anyone with you.

2. As regards the business to be discussed between us, I have one or two points to put forward: but I would rather on the whole not anticipate them (I may say that I have given no indication either of what is in my mind to Mr. Gandhi). I do not think there is likely to be any question of vital decisions being taken tomorrow, or that there will not be plenty of time for us all to consider the position.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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4. *Ibid.*

5. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
November 2nd, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasizing that I do so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government.

2. The position which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree

of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre.

3. I add, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre,—

First, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we come to grapple with the details:

Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war, and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war; and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government. I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday.

Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical, in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council: and

Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law. It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign. I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible pending the

more general review of the whole constitutional position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities.

4. I think the above makes the position clear. Let me in conclusion repeat that, as I said yesterday, I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting, whether jointly or singly, to give any assistance in my power in reachlng conclusions on these most important matters. I feel certain, as I said yesterday, that the suggestions I have put to you, reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding. will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you.

5. I am sending a similar letter to Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

(Enclosure.)

"His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then

circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interest in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

I added—

"I have I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal."

I remarked finally, speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests—

> "It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament."

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5. *Ibid.*

6. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
November 7th, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 5th November. I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

6. *Ibid.*

Viceroy's Camp (Jajjah Abbasian),
November 26th, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th November. I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of the 5th November and my acknowledgment of it. I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long, I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Viceroy to M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Telegram, November 29th, 1939.

Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of 27th November posted from Bahawalpur.

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8. - *Ibid.*

9. Viceroy's Camp, India,
Calcutta, December 23rd, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5th, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will none-the-less serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Goverement on October 18th, last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. Your need therefore have no fear that the weight which you community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be understood.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Governmeat have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab

demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the affect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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9. *Ibid.*

10. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,

February 1st, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am not quite sure when you are arriving here, but it would give me much pleasure to see you at 11 a. m. on Tuesday, 6th February, if that is convenient for you. Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me know.

Youre sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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10. India office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS, Eur. F. 125/122.

11. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
February 6th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter. I note the terms of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim League enclosed in it.

2. I have also to thank you for the draft which you have been kind enough to send me of the communique about our talk today. My Private Secretary has repeated his conversation with you to me. 1 quite understand your feeling, and I suggest that we should substitute the following for its second paragraph :—

"Mr. Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Muslim and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of."

3. I think you would probably agree with me that there would be advantage in publishing the communique possibly this evening. If therefore when you have received

my letter you would be kind enough to send a telephone message to my Private Secretary or to my A. D. C., I will take immediate action.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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11. *Ibid.*

12. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
February 28th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of the 24th February, in which you have been good enough to inform me of the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. It shall, I need not say, have my careful attention.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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12. *Ibid.*

13. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
April 10th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged for your letter of the 8th April. I am not yet in a position to let you have a final answer to your letter of the 24th February, but I hope to do so before very long.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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13. *Ibia.*

14. Viceroy's Camp, India,

Banbassa, April 19th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah.

I was glad to gather from your letter of 24th February that my letter to you of 23rd December had removed some of the doubts which had been felt by the All-India Muslim League. I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in your points the scope of the examination of the constitutional position to follow war and the policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers to some of whom indeed they are bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms

of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech on April 18th, in which he used these words :

"But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this conutry against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India, which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen, is to become a reality; for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India, a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly."

This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

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14. *Ibid.*

15. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
May 22nd, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 18th May, I note your intention to place my letter of the 19th April before the Working Committee for their consideration, and to let me have their views as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

15. *Ibid.*

16 Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
May 28th, 1940.

D. O. No. 2812-G. G.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of 17th May abou the representations you have received from the Muslims of Budaun. I did not answer it before as His Excellency was anxious to obtain a report on it from His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces and to discuss the matter with him during his present visit to Simla.

2. His Excellency has now had the advantage of full discussion with Sir Maurice Hallett. He finds that His Excellency the Governor decided some time ago that the imposition of additional police in Budaun city was justified, but that the period for which the additional police were appointed should be reduced from 12 months to 6 months, thereby reducing by half the amount payable by the Muslims. Further His Excellency understands from Sir Maurice Hellett that he saw Khan Bahadur Sheikh Saiyid Muhammad of Sheikhupur on 22nd May who only raised the point that the purchase of a lorry for this force was unjustifiable. His Excellency the Governor is examining this point but is at present of opinion that this claim is reasonable.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
June 20th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 17th June and for the resolution enclosed passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on 16th June. I shall be very glad to have a talk with you and I suggest, if that is convenient for you, we might do so on the morning of Thursday, 27th June. Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me know whether the date suits you, when I will suggest a time.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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17. *Ibid*.

18. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
June 24th, 1940.

D. O. No. 3697-G. G.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write in reply to your letter of the 14th June, with which you sent me a letter from Khan Bahadur Sheikh Saiyid Muhammad of Sheikhupur. I did not mean to suggest that the Khan Bahadur in his interview with His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett had not pressed for the entire cancellation of the orders for the imposition of punitive police—indeed it would have been strange had he not done so. But as I mentioned in my letter, His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett came to the conclusion that subject to reduction of the period by half, justification existed for those orders. Apart from this fundamental matter the one question raised by the Khan Bahadur concerned the lorry and I understand that after the examination to which I referred in my letter of the 28th May, His Excellency has modified the previous orders.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE,

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18. *Ibid.*

19. Viceregal Lodge, Simla.
June 27th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that you wrote to me on 29th May to send me a copy of a letter which you had received from the Mufti of Palestine on which you asked my consideration. I am sorry not to have been able to let you have an earlier answer, but as you will understand I have had to ascertain the position from His Majesty's Government.

3. I should, I think, make it clear in the first place that H. M. G. have no relations with the Mufti, who will not be permitted to return to Palestine, and that the answer which follow is accordingly made in confidence and should not be passed on to the Mufti.

3. The Mufti has throughout his career shown himself to be unalterably opposed to British administration in Palestine. He must, I fear, be regarded as primarily responsible for the recent campaign of assassination and terrorism and in spite of notable efforts made to meet Arab claims by the policy set out in the White Paper he has in no degree modified his attitude, but, on the contrary, has under enemy influence, become the focus of hostile activity and intrigue in the Middle East against the British Government and the Allied cause.

4. In these circumstances you will no doubt accept with great reserve statements emanating from such a source. The fact is that the publication of the White Paper produced

an immediate detente in Palestine, since the Arabs realised that it went far to meet their claims and, with the outbreak of the war, which was the occasion for widespread demonstrations of support for the Allied cause from the Arab community, progress towards the restoration of normal conditions in the country has been continuous. So great indeed has been the improvement in the situation that the military authorities in Palestine have been able to review sentences of offences committed during the disturbances and to release many who had been placed under detention.

As recently as June 15th, you will be glad to know, the emergency regulations were amended to provide that military courts should not have power to impose death sentences, and to remove from their competence any case in which the offences had been committed before that date. It is hoped that circumstances will permit of further gradual relaxation of the drastic measures imposed during the disturbances.

5. Finally, I would invite your attention to the measures so far taken to implement the policy laid down in the White Paper of May, 1939, *vs.*, regulation of Jewish immigration since April, 1939, in accordance with the provisions of the White Paper, and the enactment of legislation last February, with which you will be familiar from the references in the public press, and which was embodied in Command Paper 6 180 controlling the transfer of land in the interests of Arab

agriculturists. You may rest assured that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by H. M. G. to legitimate Arab claims.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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19. *Ibid.*

20. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
June 29th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 28th June, and for your kindness in sending me this telegram (not printed in the Volume) which I send back herewith. I quite realise the importance of this point.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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20. *Ibid.*

21. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
June 30th, 1940.

(Personal.)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had a long talk with Mr. Gandhi yesterday but for your own information no material progress was made. I must now consult Secretary of State in the light of my conversations with him and with you (it is possible that I shall ask the Jam Saheb, Savarkar and possibly Ambedkar to come and see me in the next few days, but I propose for the present to confine any invitations I may send out to the very smallest compass possible) and it may of course be some days before I am in a position to say anything further. I do not, in the circumstances, feel justified in asking you to prolong your stay in Simla, though I should like to thank you again for acceding to my suggestion that you should remain here over the week-end and I hope that you will forgive me if I should have at short notice to ask you to come and see me again.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
July 6th, 1940.

(Private & Personal.)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged for the private and personal memorandum headed "Tentative Proposal" which you were kind enough to send me in your letter to my Private Secretary of the 1st July. I note the points taken in paragraph one of that memorandum, and in the first sentence of paragraph two, both of which you emphasized in our recent conversation. I welcome also the amplification, as putting me in fuller possession of your mind, of that conversation represented by the balance of your letter. But certain of the points suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

2. As regards the expansion of my Executive Council, this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League

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22. *Ibid.*

who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time I really accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind. There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General in Council as a whole. Again, it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important; though it may, of course, be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

3. I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for Government in Section 93 Provinces vests exclusively in the Governor although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether, and if so at what point and in what strength, non-afficial advisers from political parties should be appointed in Provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of circumstances of each Province. You will, I think, agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular Province has a direct bearing.

4. Your idea for a War Council is, in my view, well worthwhile considering, though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

5. As regards Section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League. But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive *full* consideration.

6. Let me in conclusion thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal, but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

23. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
July 24th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of 16th July about the Khaksar movement. I have read it with much interest, but I do not see how I can intervene in this matter, which is primarily one for the Punjab Government. I now understand that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has published the conditions on which he would be prepared to revoke the order which makes the Khaksar movement an unlawful association.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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23. *Ibid.*

24. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
July 24th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th July, in reply to mine of the 6th July. I note and have read with interest what you say in it.

2. I appreciate the importance to you of the point taken in the last paragraph of your letter. I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential, but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling, though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to your private and personal memorandum of your "Tentative Proposal" might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of the 6th July. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can; though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

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24. *Ibid.*

25. Viceroy's Camp.
August 5th, 1240.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have had the advantage of recent discussion with you in regard to the general political situation in India, and I have reported our conversations on that matter to His Majesty's Government, with whom also I have been in consultation as to the desirability of some further statement designed to remove misunderstandings and further to clarify their intentions in the constitutional field. I am glad to say that I have now been authorised to make the statement of which I enclose a copy.* It will be published in the morning papers of Thursday August 8, and I would ask you to treat it as entirely secret and for your personal information until then.

2. As you will see His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council, and they have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President will be prepared to join with me in the Central

25. *Ibid.*

Government and in War Advisory Council; and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply by 21st August at the latest. I would hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on 13th August, and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August, and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest and if possible earlier than that date.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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*(Enclosure.)

STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideal is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national puspose in India would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was, unfortunately, not reached, and, in the circumstances, no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised

me, accordingly, so invite certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place and the results of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given, There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy or plans on which it was based. His Majesty's Government concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer af their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of

Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

The second point of general itnerest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, encomic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility. It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree.

Meanwhile, they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to

reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. They trust, however, that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the *world cause which is at* stake. Moreover, they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

26. Viceroy's Camp,
August 14th, 1940.

(Confidential.)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development: secondly, that I equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation, I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces: but I do not contemplate non-official advisers at any rate at this stage.

2. You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure, but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a penal of names, say four, with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrullah Khan if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly clearly impossible until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

3. The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a penal of names for my consideration on the assumption that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

4. As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of the Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have a very early reply.

5. There is, of course, no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially, but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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26. *Ibid.*

27. Viceroy to M. A. Jinnah, Esq.

Telegram *En clair*, September 10th, 1940.

No. 1829-S. Many thanks for your letter of 5th September. Matter is now one of urgency and I should be much obliged if you would come and see me to discuss it. I suggest any time convenient to you on either Saturady, 14th September, or Monday, 16th September.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
September 25th, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I duly received the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Muslim League passed at their meetings in Bombay on 2nd September which you were good enough to send me in your letter of 5th September and I have now had the advantage of a full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions with you.

2. I have, I think, made the general position perfectly clear in the course of our conversation, and it is unnecessary for me to enter into further detail about it here. As regards certain specific matters, I would, however, put on record that I explained to you the constitutional reasons which make it essential that the choice of members of the Governor-General's Council must rest exclusively with the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, with whom it must rest to tender advice in this matter to His Majesty. I appreciate, however, the difficulties which, you made it clear to me, confronted you in connection with the formation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you, and in the light of our discussion I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based, in the case of the Muslim League (and, should they so desire, of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on

28. *Ibid.*

confidential discussion between the leader of the party concerned and myself.

3. I have also indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios (a matter which must, of course, rest entirely with the Governor-General) until the replies of all those who may be invited to serve have been received. But I have made clear to you (as I have also to the leaders of the other parties whom I have recently seen) my attitude on both those issues.

4. The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of 8th August and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on 15th August, it is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India pending the post-war investigations, the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and Mr. Amery's speech, His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War Advisory Council, will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war, and on the basis already indicated in my statement, of the main constitutional issue. But His

Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the cause of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead, and, in so doing, will, in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

29. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
September 25th, 1940.

(Private & Strictly Confidential)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply before you left for Delhi to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month, and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you, as you will remember, that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have in fact after the most careful thought found it impraticable. But, knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter sent herewith to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistante to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one; for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

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29. *Ibid.*

30. Viceregal Lodge, Simla,
October 2nd, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged for your letter of 30th September enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee confirmed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 29th September, 1940.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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30. *Ibid.*

31. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi.
November 4th, 1940.

D. O. No. 6853-G. G.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

His Excellency asks me to thank you for your kindness in sending him this booklet entitled "India's Problem of her Future Constitution".

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE.

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31. *Ibid.*

32. Viceroy's Camp,
December 10th, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to refer to your letter of 24th March 1941 with which you forwarded on behalf of the Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly a memorandum regarding representation of Muslims in Railway Services.

2. His Excellency had the memorandum fully and carefully examined and in the light of the facts elicited he has reviewed in Council the main issues raised by it. The conclusions reached are embodied in the enclosed paper (not printed in the Volume) which has the unanimous approval of his Council. Extra copies are enclosed for distribution to the members of the Party. As the memorandum has not been made public, the Government of India do not think it necessary to publish the reply, but would be prepared to consider publication if your party desired this course. His Excellency would only add that he is confident that there is no foundation for the suggestion made in your letter that the Muslim League Party have in any way "incurred the displeasure and hostility of the Member-in-Charge".

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE.

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32. India Office Library. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur, F. 125/123.

33. **Viceroy to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**
Telegram *En clair* July 26th, 1943.

Immediate. No. 185-G. T. Much shocked at news of attempt on your life. Best wishes for early and complete recovery.

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33. India Office Library, Linlithgow Collection, MSS. Eur. F. 125/125.

34. The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
September 6th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have had your letter of 23rd August about affairs in Kashmir for which I thank you. As you have correctly surmised I am aware from certain reports which have reached me that some uneasiness prevails in the State and that this uneasiness has indeed persisted for some time past. I am, I need hardly tell you, in the closest contact with my Advisers on the whole topic and for this reason I do not find it necessary to take advantage of your very kind offer to send me a summary of recent developments based on information available to you from your own sources. I can assure you furthermore that the whole situation will continue to receive my constant attention and I hope that the doubts to which you have given expression about conditions in the State will presently be totally resolved.

In conclusion I would like to thank you for your courtesy in taking the trouble to invite my attention to the matter the importance of which I of course fully realise.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

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34. *Ibid.*

35. Viceroy's Camp, Simla.
September 23rd, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 15th September in reply to my letter of September the 7th. As you say I did not think it necessary to put any special marking on my letter to you, the correspondence between us being personal in character and no suggestion having been made by you that you were anxious or might be anxious to publish any reply from me, I appreciate what you say in your letter, but I should prefer that the correspondence should remain as personal between us and should not be given to the Press.

2, As I am on this subject I might add that I understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has now appointed a commission to consider and report upon the whole question of "Reforms" in the State.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW;

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35. *Ibid.*

MISCELLANEOUS—PART III

1. Mr. Jinnah — Reasons for not attending Defence meeting.
New Delhi, April 8, (1940.)

Mr. M. A, Jinnah who did not attend this evening's Defence meeting has sent the following reply to the Defence Secretary's invitation to the meeting :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of April 6, I believe that His Excellency the Defence Member must be aware of the negotiations that are going on between His Excellency the Viceroy and myself representing the All-India Muslim League, and until the assurances asked for are definitely given and the basis of co-operation settled, I do not think I can take any part in the proposed meeting. I am sending you a pamphlet under separate cover for the information of His Excellency the Defence Member and Your Department and it will give you full details of what the position is up-to-date."

The pamphlet contains the resolutions of the Muslim League on the war and the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah is leaving for Bombay by the Frontier Mail tomorrow morning.—(A. P. I.).

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1. *Stat of India*, 9th April 1940.

2. M. A. Jinnah, Esq., M. L. A.,
Elphinstone Lodge,
Matheran.
May 29th, 1940.

Dear Lord Lothian,

I gather from various sources that enormous propaganda is going on in America on behalf of the Congress. Of course I need not discuss in this letter the conditions and realities that are prevalent in our country for you are no doubt aware of them, and are following the various developments, but I feel that the case of Muslim India is going by default so far as the American public and press are concerned, and we are misrepresented and villified by one sided and insidious propaganda that is being carried on by the Congress against us.

I am, therefore, very anxious that if you can suggest the name of some Muslim, who would be competent enough to set up a capable agency on behalf of the Muslims. We would be prepared to bear any reasonable expense provided we get the right sort of person or persons to do the work.

I wonder whether you can help me in this matter. I have always counted on your personal friendship and so I have ventured to write to you this matter.

With very kind regards and best of wishes.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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2. HM Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, Lothian Muniments, GD40/17/401.

3. July 13th, 1940.

Personal & Private

My dear Jinnah,

There is certainly a need for some competent Moslem speakers from India in this country. Congress has more or less monopolized the field for a great many years, and there has been no adequate first hand presentation of the Moslem point of view. I understand there is a proposal on foot that Sir Pheroze Khan Noon and Yusuf Ali should come here this autumn in order to state the Moslem point of view. I don't know of anybody in this country who could do so.

As a matter of fact, the thinking people here have a better idea of the Indian problem than many people realise, because the American press has, on the whole, presented the modern aspect of Indian politics. For instance, your speeches, as well as Gandhi's now get same publicity here. I enclose a document recently issued by the highly influential Foreign Policy Association, which goes to most leaders of opinion and to most editorial offices, which gives a pretty balanced view.

Congress has a great many friends in this country, especially among people who are interested in the Mahatma. It does not maintain, so far as I know, any organised office, but every year half a dozen Congress speakers enter into contracts with lecture agencies to speak all over the country

3. *Ibid.*

to colleges and lecture societies — and end by paying their own way.

If you can find some Indian Moslems who can make interesting speeches and clearly well informed, it ought not be difficult for them to obtain assignments from the lecture agents.

I try to follow Indian politics as well as I can from here. The world is certainly having a good shake-up.

I hope you and your sister are in good health.

Yours sincerely,

LOTHIAN.

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